

### LETTER FROM LONDON

#### Dear Black Flag,

Scargill As Demon King. Nationalisation is an equal evil to privatisation, but surely not ion of the Police, the propaganda aimed at greater?Just look at the United States and at the mining industry there: almost completely deunionised and with mining firms using whatever strongarm tactics to divide industrial solidarity even further. If the mines were 'denationalised' in Britain, the situation wouldn't be better just because the State wasn't directly in control - rather the current situation, where productivity and bonus differentials (never mind basic rate differences) vary from Area to Area, would be encouraged even more and pay undercut as labour is forced to be more 'competitive'. Nor would there be no State intervention if the union(s) resisted attempts to impose the cutbacks or deunionise: private industry or public sector, all the forces of the State will be used to break any industrial dispute of importance. If there is direct action the police will be used part right to the end: he couldn't afford to on the same scale, likewise the legal system will be changed or applied to ensure that the labour movement fails in its objectives, the Media will do as it always has done, and the Government of the day will back the capitalists to the hilt.

When you say 'No private employer could have stood up to the miners, and suffer NUM and the Labour Party. At least Scared such losses, as the State could' - this just isn't true anymore and is an illusion to think otherwise. British Telecom is now a private employer, but if massive industrial miners, even if it was one last-ditch attempt action was organised by BT workers, the to personally outmanoeuvre Kinnock. State and all the forces at its disposal would come to BT's rescue. From the State's

point of view, capitalism cannot afford to I'd like to comment on the recent article be disrupted by any major industrial dispute - hence the restrictive Laws, the interventcausing splits in the union movement, and all the other penalties imposed on trade unionism in recent years.

As for your comment on Scargill, perhaps the most appropriate criticism is that although he proved an excellent and entercaining orator, retrospectively he was a lousy 'general'. The rest, though, I thought unjustified: if you thought of him as being a 'revolutionary', then obviously you will be disappointed when he didn't live up to your expectations. Scargill was merely very good at what he was: a less reformist than most trade union leader and a state communist (Did you really believe such a person, who had a public reputation to build, would intervene in the case of an arrested anarchist?) During the latter part of the Miners Strike Scargill played his admit defeat, defeated though he and the union was. At the end it was the Eurocommunist faction - McGahey and Emlyn Williams, etc - who helped pull the plug out and organise the 'strategic withdrawal' and who have since done all they can to smooth the troubled waters between the gill alleged Stalinist and sometimes naive as he is, attempted to embarrass the Labour Party over the reinstatement of victimised

T.H.

## **TV REVIEW - 'STRIKEBOUND'**

The current season of Australian films on anti-strike shopkeepers, police and gun-BBC 2 continued with Strikebound, shown om Wednesday December 4th. It told the story of the 1937 miners strike on the South Gippsland coalfield at the Sunbeam Colliery. At that time waterfront workers, timber workers and other miners were all defeated, pessimism about any possible improvements to be won was widespread. The Sunbeam Colliery miners had the worst conditions in Australia, perhaps in the world at that time. They had no minimal pay, you were paid by how much coal you dug, shown by leaving your token on the truck you had filled. A scab-type who cheated his workmates by placing his token benefits etc. should definitely get a copy. on some of their trucks provoked a stopwork meeting and as stop-work meetings were punishable with the sack the miners were soon locked out. The mixed drama and documentary style using historical footage and miners songs is very powerful and the episodes of picketing, chasing off scabs, the Women's Auxillary boycotting

## **DIRECT ACTION RE-LAUNCHED**

The Direct Action Movement is pleased to organisation, the CNT-AIT, played such a announce that Direct Action, Britain's only monthly anarcho-syndicalist paper, is to resume publication in January 1986, after a lapse of several months.

Since 1945 Direct Action has consistently advocated the direct control of society by workers, completely unswayed by any political party – an attitude not only deeply rooted in the traditions of British labour, but more relevant than ever today. 1986 sees some important anniversaries for the international workers movement.

It is the centenary of May Day, a date celebrated by millions around the world in ignorance of its origins in the American Anarchist movement. Of particular interest to anarcho-syndicalists, 1886 is the fiftieth anniversary of the Spanish revolution, in which the Direct Action Movement's sister

momentous role. It is also thirty years since the revolt of the Hungarian workers.

@ Viewer.

been sabotaged out) for several days

who goes over to the strikers and he a

Communist Party member. Both come

local Labour MLA (like an MP) gets a

rough ride at a miners meeting too!

groups building up film libraries for

videos about the 1984/5 miners strike

odd decent show is on television.

across as working class militants and the

All these events will be analysed in Direct Action with regard to the lessons we can learn from them today, alongside reports from industrial and social struggles up and down the country, news of worker movements overseas and intelligent, independent comment on all the latest news.

Direct Action is not produced by party hacks, union full-timers or paid political journalists. It is written by militant, independant workers, for militant, independent workers. It costs 20p monthly, and is available from street-sellers, good bookshops or direct from PO Box 102, Hull.

We are of course happy to arrange the supply of extra copies for readers to sell, however modest the number. DA Publishers.



## FEEDBACK

thugs attacks, and the culmination of the occupation of the mine (after scabs had creates an atmosphere of realistic tension. The story revolves around Agnes and Wattie Doig, she a Salvation Army soldier

If you get a chance ask someone who taped it off the telly to show it to you; Following on from the screenings of the here, the Battle Of Orgreave etc. and the Molly Maguires (about the miners secret resistance society in Pennsylvania in the 1860s and early 1870s) it seems that the

**Publications Received** 

Counter-information. No 8 (Dec-Jan 1985 -6). A well produced newsbulletin and good source of counter-information on the recent riots here plus extensive coverage of industrial action at home and abroad. It's also free although any donations are welcome. Available from: c/o Box 81, 43 Candelmaker Row,

Edinburgh, Scotland.

Ideas & Action. No6 (Fall/autumn 1985). Another well produced paper, this time from San Francisco. Ideas & Action is published by the Workers Solidarity Alliance the US section of the International Workers Association. Articles in this issue include Mujere Libres, Pornography, Bhopal and workers rights, plus lots of industrial news from the U.S. and elsewhere. Price \$1.50 Available from: WSA San Francisco Group P.O. Box 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140.

ANARCHY No 7 September 1985. Anarchy is an irregular publication of the Columbia Anarchist League, an anti-profit, anticapitalist organisation of local anarchists dedicated to catalyzing the creation of a more libertarian world. This issue contains articles on South Africa, pornography and female sexuality, international anarchist news (some taken from Black Flag!) and lots more. A good diverse read. Subs are 3 dollars for six issues (free to prisoners). Donations welcome. All correspondence: Anarchy c/o C.A.L., P. J. Box 380, Columbia, MO 65205, USA

### **Bits And Pieces**

NEW READING DAM GROUP If anyone is interested in joining DAM contact Box DAM, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berkshire.

### ANARCHY ABOUT?

Anarchy magazine is to appear early in 1986. We will review this long awaited issue as it comes to hand. Advance orders to: Anarchy, c/o 84b Whitechapel High St London. E.1.

#### NEW PUBLICATION JACOB

*Jacob* is a new book in Italian, a beautifully produced edition by Centrolibri (an anarchist publishing house). Translated from the French of Bernard Thomas (published in Paris in 1970) it is the life story of Marius Jacob (Alexandre Marius), the last of the great 'underworld fighters' of French Anarchism, who made a distinctive contribution to the working class resistance in Paris at the turn of the century, incidentally inspiring many works of fiction (including Maurice LeBlanc's Arsene Lupin).

### FOR SALE

Olivetti 221 electronic typewriter. Capable of connecting to monitor/ printer for word processing and modem for communicating via phone network. Includes display unit; justifies, automatic emboldening, centring, underline, etc. Plus five 'daisy wheel' typefaces. £300 (originally £850). Contact Black Flag, BM Hurricane London WC1N 3XX if interested.



DEDICATED TO COMRADE ALEX GORDON - "OBSESSED WITH AIDS" ?? YOU FUCKING BET I AM MATE! ©1985 FACTION 24 PETE MASTIN



# DAICE



ANARCHIST RELEASED AFTER HUNGER STRIKE -POLICE MURDERER WALKS

FREE

As reported in our last issue, Athen's Polytechnic building was recently occupiea twice by people protesting against the police murder of 15 year old Anarchist Mihalis Kaltezas, on November 18th.

The murder also sparked off major riots in Athens, similar to those seen in Amsterdam after the death of the Dutch squatter Hans Kok while in police custody in October.

Thirty seven Anarchists were arrested after the first occupation and beaten up by police. One man, Christos Koutelieris, was so badly beaten by police that he was taken straight to hospital after being arrested with serious head injuries.

Despite this, Christos went on Hunger Strike on November 20th, demanding to be immediately released, alon with his thirty six comrades. He also refused all liquids and soon went into a coma at which point he was force fed against his will by the hospital. Once he regained consciousness he restarted the Hunger Strike until on December 6th he was released, (on a fifty thousand drachma bail) very close to death. His condition is improving as we go the press but its uncertain whether or not he will suffer more permanent damage. Fifteen

out of the thirty seven Anarchists remain in police custody. They are all due to be released soon although a date hasn't been fixed yet by the Courts.

In contrast, the policeman who murdered Mihalis Kaltezas by shooting him in the back of the head (Mikilas Kalteras was fleeing from police firing guns at a crowd,) Athanasios Melistas, walked free after being charged with manslaughter. It's unlikely that he will be found guilty when he goes to Court, and is set to literally 'get away with murder'.

#### Revenge

January 25th 1986

In response to events a policevan was blown up in Athens on November 26th killing two cops and injuring twenty one. The bomb was claimed by the 'November 17th' group (named after the date that students occupied the Athens Polytechnic against the 1973 Military Colonels dictatorship), a known armed gang. It is the first action by the group in solidarity with Anarchists and has been received with mixed feelings by Greek Anarchists. Some feel the action was genuine, others feel it was simply opportunistic.

#### Anti-Anarchist Clamour

Not surprisingly, there's been a lot of anti-Anarchist sentiments expressed in the Greek newspapers (Socialist, Communist and Fascist) and on TV over recent weeks, much of it being repeated in the British press. The Guardian for example on Nov. 28, claimed that the Anarchists had run

GDEECE.

## **REDRESSION** BRITAIN

NO TO NEW POLICE LAWS THE REVIEW OF PUBLIC ORDER LAW

proposed by the government will give the police the power to ban marches, restrict pickets and charge people with riot(carrying a ten year sentence), violent disorder (carrying a five year sentence) and affray (carrying a three year sentence). Organisers of any 'illegal' marches or meetings will face a three month prison sentence and a £1000 fine. This is just another law in the armoury of the government along with the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Police and Criminal Evidence Act used to oppress opponents.

We know the police will do what they can get away with. We must show that we will not be intimidated by them. People are resisting, defending their communities (mining villages, the six counties, innercity areas like Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham), showing determination to hold their events (peace convoy festivals) and protests (the Greenham wimmin), or just generally being strong in the streets -OUR STREETS. We all need to co-operate if we are to effectively challenge police repression. That is the purpose of the CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESS-ION and march which will take place on Saturday, January 25th at 12 noon, London Fields E8 (Bethnal Green Tube, Buses: 55 106, 38, 30 and 253.). This will go past Dalston Lane and Stoke Newington police stations... A newsletter which collects all information about police harassment is open to contributions, available from: Campaign Against Police Repression, Box C.A.P.R. 83 Blackstock Road, London N4. Phone Pete 01 341 5340

into some luck 'as a result of Kaltezas' murder!! Other newspapers claimed that Mihalis Kaltezas was throwing a petrol bomb when he was murdered. This is a lie! He was shot in the back of the head while

LATIN AMERICA Page 4 INTERNATIONAL Page 5 trying to escape police gun-fire, along with

Nasty or Nice....

A Copiracopiracop!

**KILL THE BILL!** 

Contents

INDUSTRIAL

Page 2 HOME NEWS

Page 3

Hard Cop/Soft Cop

3882

many other people. Many newspapers also 'claimed that the 'November 17' group was Anarchist. It is not, has never been, an Anarchist group.





#### EDITORIAL

1985 hasn't been a bad year for Black Flag We managed to remain a fortnightly paper, we increased the size of the paper to eight pages and we bought a typesetter, making Black Flag look almost like a'real'newspaper! We've also been busy working on the Anarchist Black Cross and our contact with groups at home and abroad has

We'd like to bring out a more regular paper, or a bigger paper, but our resources (finances and people involved) won't allow us to do either at present. Maybe next year?

In the end, Black Flag's future depends on its wonderful readership. Thanks for your support in 1985. We still need more people to street-sell, write articles, send donations, subscribe, send news-clippings etc. etc. . . Special thanks to all those who already do this.

Black Flag Collective.

THIS ISSUE NUMBER 146 will be the last issue this year.

DO write and let us know if you're not getting a copy when you in fact should be; BUT note that the next issue will be January 13th.

Two and a half years after the May 1983 election victory, Liverpool's Labour councill ors have bowed to pressure and done what they had vowed never do: compromise on the issue of no job losses, no cuts in services no rates increase (they have already increased the rates twice, by 11% and 9% respectively). Effectively, the eventual u-turn has been postponed with the help of Swiss capitalists, enabling the council to transfer money from its housing budget to pay its way 'til next April at least. The shit will only really begin to fly when those Swiss banks demand the first repayments on their money. In view of the short time, 6/7 years, they've demanded for it all to be repaid, this will mean a huge hunk out of future yearly budgets. Huge rate increases and cuts seem inevitable. 'Militant' supporters Hatton and Mulhearn, and the other Labour councillors, no matter how well-intentioned and 'left-wing', are powerless to stop them. Only Liverpool's working class – large sections of which the council, and in particular Militant supporters, have consistently ignored and rode rough shod over – have the power and only L'pool's working class, whom the cuts will most affect, have the incentive and the will to continue the fight to the bitter end. Labour councillors, with mortgages and political careers to think of, won't - even if a few seem prepared to risk this. The council's stand was effectively doomed from the start. Demonstrations and pathetic one-day strikes apart, the council consistently failed to involve local Liverpool people, most of them whom - despite Liberal, Tory, and Liverpool Echo lies to the contrary – oppose cuts and hate the Tory government. Small wonder then, following Friday Nov. 22nd's eleventh hour climbdown and acceptance by the council of the helping hand of Swiss capital coupled with the uncertainty of preceding weeks, that large numbers now feel disillusioned and dejected.



STOP BUSINESS AS USUAL -MANCHESTER NOVEMBER 28.

MANCHESTER Stop Business as Usual took place on the 28th of November. About fifty people took part. The day of protest started at 10 am, many different leaflets were handed out on Market Street eg. leaflets against Police Repression, Religion and pollution in Greater Manchester. Much of the emphasis was on animal rights with protests outside fur shops and MacDonalds. There was a free food stall set up with vegan foods that the public could come up to and sample. Donations towards costs was encouraged. There was a wimmin's action outside the Porn Shop. South African Airways was occupied by around twenty of us until the cops came to kick us out. There was a sitdown protest in the entrance of the HMV record shop (HMV is a subsidiary of EMI which is involved in the arms trade). Customers were asked to boycott the shop and buy records elsewhere. Posters were put up the night before and leaflets handed out informing the public that if they shop at Lewis's (department store) and find certain articles - indicated by a black star - that they just need to take it to the check-out and claim it as a free gift from the company.

Leaflets were also distributed telling potential customers that Safeway's has decided to no longer stock South African Produce and so in order to clear existing stock they were giving it away free to shoppers (limited to one basket per customer). This fooled many people and was even reported in the Manchester Evening News. Of course, many of the people filling up baskets with SA produce were Anarchists and not 'fooled' customers.

Other events included people storming into the Army Careers Office and a branch of Barclays Bank to argue with the staff inside. The Manchester Stock Exchange was also occupied by around ten Anarchists. No arrests were made in the entire day

The police were actually lenient. This is only a brief summary of the days

events that I know of. Other actions may have taken place so maybe others will write in to inform you.

Manchester

#### Not So Militant

Militant, a Trotsky-ist organisation, like all party political groupings shares the conceited belief that they, as 'representatives' of the people, have the right to make decisions on the people's behalf. This belief, common to all who rule or aspire to rule over others may or may not be 'democratic' – it is nothing to do with socialism or equality. Labour councillors, Militant supporters or not, all see themselves as the elected vanguard of L'pool's working class. In the long run, their divisive, know-all tactics have only hindered the fight against Thatcher and the cuts. Their treat ment of L'pool's black community is a case in point.

When, in early 1984, the post of head of the local Community Relations Council became vacant, the local black community put forward its' own candidates. The City Council ignored this and appointed Sampson Bond, black solicitor and Militant supporter from London. Prior to his appointment, Bond had never even set foot in Liverpool. The Community Relations Council is essentially a quango (quasi-autonomous nongovernment organisation), a product of 'liberal' attitudes in the sixties' and early seventies, an organisation which beyond trying to ensure an equal deal for L'pool's blacks in terms of jobs, housing (L'pool's black community, despite having probably the longest history in the country, is among the most discriminated against), has little real relevance when it comes to challenging racism among the white working class. The Black Caucus, the Liverpool 8 district black organisation in the forefront of the fight against the Bond appointment, has been alleged by Militant supporters to be dominated by local pimps and gangsters, and middle-class blacks – it is certainly probably true that these groups have representation in it. Nonetheless, who knows best – a Militant stooge from London, or L'pool's

# HOME NEWS

## Manchester



STOCKPORT – ANTI-NF DEMO On Saturday, November 16th, the National Front held a 'meeting' at the town hall in Stockport. Between 11.30am and 12.30, six hundred to a thousand anti-fascist demonstrators occupied the town hall steps.

After about an hour standing in the rain we marched around the town centre. Shouts of 'smash the NF', etc, brought general encouragement from passers-by, amny of whom joined the march. Shortly after the march returned to the town hall, a few fascists walked past the march union jack flag in hand. This wasn't tolerated. A section of the march broke off and chased the fascist scum. This resulted in some of them getting beaten up and one was taken to hospital; also some of them in a car had

their windows kicked in and lights broken. News had come through that about one hundred fascists were bottled up in the train station, but wandering bands of antifascists didn't manage to gain access to the station. Later the police herded the fascists (there were less than forty of them) out of the train station, past the demonstration amid much abuse and missile-throwing, and round behind the town hall where they held a 'meeting'. After this 'meeting' the police herded them back the way they had come to the train station.

Although it was obvious that the police had co-operated with the NF so that some sort of 'meeting' could go ahead, it was the presence of a large anti-fascist demonstrat-

## Liverpool - The End of the Road? —

blacks, even if some of their representatives are far from perfect? Labour councillors have consistently crossed picket lines set up outside council buildings; the 'Socialist Council' has shown its' true colours by, when faced with a refusal by its' own unionised clerical workers to have anything to do with the Bond appointment, employing non-unionised scab labour to do the job instead. Socialism indeed!

Liverpool City Council's thirty thousand workforce have traditionally been among the lowest paid local authority workers in the country; they were only granted the promised reduction in working hours and increased pay rates after the middle of '85, some two years after the council were first elected. Many of its' workforce still earn wages below the official poverty line despite this, it was the poorest paid manual workers who voted for strike action against the cuts. The reward from their council bosses and 'Militant' shop stewards was to ignore this on the grounds that, the votes of NALGO and other white collar staff taken into account (NUPE and the NUT wouldn't allow their members a vote - so much for ballots and democracy), there was a small majority among all council workers who'd voted against strike action. Council leaders, so vehement (rightly so) in their criticism of both local and national unions for their opposition to the strike call, nonetheless followed the letter of the Law when it came to abiding by the wishes of the scab majority. Their only alternative was the issue-ing of redundancy notices – a pathetic tactic, fear of the consequences of which forced the council to in the end tie the rope around their own necks and agree to the compromise they said they never would. No wonder militant (small 'm') manual workers feel demoralised and sold out.

The Future

ion that ensured that contact between the fascists and passers-by was kept to zero. Patrick Harrington, NF national student organiser of North London Polytechnic 'fame', was spotted among the fascists. This suggests that the Stockport 'meeting' was supposed to be some sort of national mobilisation! There were only a few of these older/more respectable-looking types

- for the most part, they were just skinhead thugs. It seems, therefore, that the NF still have their thug-image despite their many attempts to disguise it in the last few years.

Throughout the day there were thirteen arrests among the anti-fascists (and also two NF arrests).

The whole scene at one stage resembled a virtual riot, with the appearance of locals in scarves and balaclavas. There were quite a few anarchists, visible with several flags and placards.

> SOURCE: Manchester DAM & Jon, Manchester.

**STOP THE CITY – BIRMINGHAM** There is to be a Stop The City demo in Birmingham on Saturday January 11th, 1986. Assemble at St. Philips Cathederal. Confirmation: 021 643 0996.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

- 1. How did 'Fanny', from being a kindly diminutive of a proper name, become an aggressively sexist word for the vagina?
- 2. What British fascist leader was formerly a chorus dancer?
- 3. What profession was followed by Felix Morrow, the Trotskyist guru on the Spanish war and revolution?
- 4. What had Anton Pannekoek, the guru of council-communism, in common with Omar Khayyam?
- 5. Why did Groucho Marx earn 8100 every time he did not sing a song by Irving Berlin?
- 6. Why did Ivor Novello hate the song that made him famous?

Answers on page 8

The prospect of strike action not only put the shits up Tory central government, it also worried the union Leaders and Kinnock and other left reformists in the Labour Party fearful of the consequences for themselves of workers taking direct action. It also carried the uncertainties for the city council, hence their belated support for it – they only gave their endorsement on finding themselves picketed out of council offices and chambers on the day they were originally first due to issue the redundancy notices. With, the limelight on them this time, and at such a crucial moment, they were unable to do what they had been doing virtually unnoticed, outside Liverpool, for months – cross workers' picket lines. The Militant dominated Joint Shop Stewards Committee (JSSC) followed the half-hearted line of the council – so much for the workers' representation.

None of these can ever be relied upon to take up the fight on our behalf, as the farce of the past two-and-a-half years has shown. Kinnock and left reformists in the Labour Party anxious for general election victory and not wanting to appear 'extreme', 'Communist' and other trade union Leaders anxious to contain workers' struggles and continue to play their role of pimps in the labour process, Militant and other marxists pushing their vanguardist ideas that they alone know what's best and riding rough shod over the rest of us – the effect on most people is always the same: demoralisation, dejection, defeat. We are constantly presented by our 'representatives' in the labour movement with a picture of ourselves as being ignorant and inadequate, of lacking the knowledge or know-how to conduct our struggles ourselves. Without them, we are told, we are nothing – we are only capable of a 'trade union consciousness'.

Continued on Page 3

## Solidarity Grows

A s the struggle for freedom intensifies in South Africa, actions in support of black South Africans have been taking place in many parts of the world. This active solidarity by working class people is strengthening the position of the blacks by undermining the economic power base of the white ruling class. We think these actions are much more effective than any of the half-hearted actions and words of those governments who mouth their so-called opposition to the South African regime. Will you add your support to the growing solidarity?

In November 1984, San Francisco dock workers refused to handle a shipment of SA goods. This led to the dockers striking for eleven days, despite pressure from both courts and union officials to return to work. They were backed by their local union however, and have now formed the Bay Area Free SA movement. Since the strike no SA goods have entered the docks. In New Orleans too, dockers do not load or unload ships with SA connections.

In August this year, Southampton dockers boycotted a oad of machinery destined for military use in South Africa. In October, South Wales NUM and the Swansea dockers stopped a shipment of SA coal. Next day, at the Maritime unions against apartheid conference on the oil embargo, it was decided that any Company shipping oil to SA would be subject to industrial action. Then in November, Liverpool dockers decided to boycott SA coal, after discussions with miners from Bold Colliery in Lancashire. Members of the National Union of Seamen are refusing to transport any South African goods on the three P&O ferries from Aberdeen to Orkney and Shetland. The ban started in late November and will stop the transport of almost all SA food and wine to the Northern Isles.

Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish transport workers began a boycott on all trade with SA in October; a month later Danish Trade Unions, imposed a similar ban thus affecting five thousand workers in dock, transport, clerical and office sectors. This has meant that three Danish Bulk ships carrying up to four hundred thousand tonnes of SA coal will be laid up. The boycott is for eleven weeks, but will then be extended, resulting in a drastic effect on the SA fruit trade as it moves into its

#### peak period.

Similar actions from Barcelona, where dockers boycott ships with any SA connections and urge them to leave port then and there. This is an extract from a letter to the Captain of the SA Langenberg We are motivated by the policy of apartheid under which a white, racist minority brutally opress the black population who

are dying in the defence of their rights. We are in solidarity with the black people in their struggle for freedom and we strongly condemn the cruel policy of apartheid. Our organisation considers your visit unwelcome and we ask you to take steps to leave immediately and so avoid unforseen incidents.

For the past eighteen months eleven women workers from Dunnes supermarket in Dublian have beeen on strike after two women were suspended for exercising their right not to handle SA produce. IDATU, the shopworkers union had called for a boycott. So far Dunnes have insisted that if the women return to work they will still be expected to handle SA goods. The women are equally determined to fight on until they win. Two of these striking women are on a speaking tour of Britain at present. As a result of their example many other workers have been inspired to take action. Librarians in Dublin library have withdrawn information on job vacancies in SA. PTWU branch workers are pushing for a boycott of mail and workers at Mirro Mirror Boutiques and Catering Ireland Ltd. have forced their bosses to include the right not to handle SA products in their contracts.

In Britain the consumer boycott keeps growing. In Brixton local anti-aparthied Cultural Action Programme members and supporters have been banned from the largest store Tescos but still leaflet the place and meet a good response. Goods dumped in trolleys, covered with stickers and dumped in aisles etc have led to the Co-op and Fine Fare national stores phasing out SA goods, others such as Sainsbury and Tesco are worried and will only need a push to drop the SA goods too?

#### BT&RC strike

In Horwick, a small town in Natal, the British Tyre & Rubber Company is the only major employer. The metal workers union (MAWA) had organised over half of the workforce and sought negotiating ights.

The management response on the 2nd of May was to sack all the black workers. Despite the fact that picketing is illegal, and enduring great privation, the workers held out for the principle of organising collectively and not accepting the dictats of the company.

Despite the odds, resistance stayed solid with one thousand strikers arrested and a sympathy strike in nearby Pietermaritzburg which brought the city to a standstill on the 18th of July.

On November 15th, one striker was shot dead by a plainclothes policeman involved in a battle between strikers and scabs.

Liverpool - The End of the Road?

Continued From Page 2

At best, we are the shocktroops of their army to do their fighting. We, in the L'pool situation, were the ones expected to suffer redundancy and all the hardship that goes with it. And yet it was from among ourselves, from among ordinary workers, that the strike call came. So much for them.

In two years' time, probably sooner, we will see the first of huge cuts in Liverpool services, and the gradual grinding to a halt of L'pool's house-building programme irrespective of who's ruling the city. The City Council, local trade unions, and the JSSC have been exposed as at best irrelev ant, at worst an actual hindrance, to the necessary fightback. Council workers will have to start talking among themselves and organising now, but not only that - the future strike will need the support of the whole working class community: of blacks of housewives, of schoolkids, of the old, of the disabled. It will need the support of all workers in Liverpool, not just council employees. It will need active support not just token demonstrations once every couple of months or one-off, rigged, neighbourhood meetings. And it will have to go beyond the Militant fetish of blaming the Tories for everything, and of bleating of Kinnock or trade union 'betrayal'. As if

Kinnock and the unions would act in any other way.

Most importantly of all, the future fightback will have to make explicit and public what Militant supporters aren't prepared to – opposition to capitalism and the whole economic system which causes cuts. The fight against the cuts can be won.



Since October 1, 1984, coal miners at A.T. Massey have been on strike against the Shell and Fluor multinational corporations which have refused to sign contracts which the Bituninous Coal Operators Association had negotiated with the United Mine Workers (UMW). The coal bosses wanted to reduce the working week with reductions in pay, less fringe benefits and the elimination of health and safety committees on the premises.

The strike dragged on until February when the company wanted to fire all the strikers. The entire labour movement in West Virginia mobilised and came out in solidarity, organising demonstrations of thousands of workers. These mobilisations forced the company to retreat from its threat of firing the strikers.

Then the Massey-run Spruce Creek processing plant in Lobata began to operate with scab coal, something the company had not previously attempted. The response of the miners was that of mass picketing which managed to block trains from delivering scab coal. Miners, with the support of other workers, engaged in various other forms of direct action, including armed defence of picket lines (against armed company thugs) and sabotage of company installations.

## INDUSTRIAL

#### What Bloody Rights? **Rights**?

- 1. The police can stop and search you at any time. 2. The police can only take you to a police station for questioning with your agreement.
- 3. The courts have to explain to you why they are refusing bail. 4. When asked by an employer directly, or on an application form,
- about your previous convictions, you must list them all.
- 5. If you are injured in a prison workshop you can claim for industrial injury under the Factories Act.
- 6. A uniformed police officer can stop any motor vehicle to test its condition.
- 7. An employer cannot dismiss anyone for his/her trade union activity.
- 8. If you lose your case at an Industrial Tribunal there is no right of appeal. 9. If goods are sent to you without your request, they become
- yours if not collected after one month. 10. A trader who does repairs or other work to your belongings
- can keep them until he or she is paid. 11. You have-to pay your own costs in civil courts whether you
- win the case or not. 12. You can get legal aid for a lawyer to represent you at a Tribunal.
- 13. A housing official may enter your house at a reasonable time to see if there is overcrowding.
- 14. You can get a divorce if you have lived apart from your partner for two years, even if he/she does not want one. 15. The father of an illegitimate child has the right to a say in its
- upbringing 16. If a child has lived with foster parents for five years the child can only be removed with the court's permission.
- 17. If a care order is made in respect of your child you lose all
- parental rights.
- 18. You can lose unemployment benefit for up to six weeks if you leave your job voluntarily without just cause.
- 19. Parents can forbid a school to set homework for their child.
- 20. Council tenants can be evicted for an unkempt garden.
- 1. True; 2. True; 3. True; 4. False; 5. False; 6. True; 7. True; 8. False; 9 False; 10. True. 11. False; 12. False; 13. True; 14. False; 15. False; 16. True; 17. True; 18. True; 19. True; 20. True. SOURCE: Jim @.

## Massey Coal Strike - USA

In March, the company tried to deliver scab coal by truck convoys. One of these from Kentucky was initially stopped at the State line by massive pickets. The highway was blocked for several hours. During the blockade a massive battle broke out. In the end the convoy was able to move ahead.

Anarchist

### Dear friends,

Thanks for the free posters and literature, which got through the censorship here without any trouble. I wish I had the Arguments For & Ahainst Anarchism book a few weeks earlier, so I could have given it to the psychiatrists from a nonsecure mental hospital who came to interview me for a place. They regarded anarchism as a sort of dangerous mental illness in itself. Being in this place has done wonders for raising my political consciousness

The next day, after learning a lesson from the day before, the truck convoy was lead by an armored car. Another battle broke out and this time a company truck was set on fire.

The miners' fight against the multinationals is still going on. On August 10th a convoy of over two hundred trucks, vans and cars belonging to Detroit area members of the United Auto Workers union brought food, clothing and money to the strikers.

It is important to note that the Fluor Corporation has more than \$4.5 billion in contracts with the South African government to build and maintain coal-to-oil conversion plants in that racist-ruled country. When six thousand Sasol Corporation (the conversion company) workers joined in the national 'stay aways' (general strikes), the Sasol Corporation, with the help of Fluor Corp. recruited replacement and supervisory personnel to train the scabs. As with all other capitalist multinationals, exploitation knows no boundaries. Nor should the world's woking class respect boundaries either. In this vein it should also be noted that the Massey workers made direct contact with their South African counterparts and have made the connection between the two struggles known to the world and mutual expressions of solidarity have taken place.

For more information contact: G. Simmons PO Box 2764 Charleston, WV 25330 c/o M. Wolford 383 Madigan Ave. Morgantown, WV 26505 SOURCE: Ideas & Action.

### Black Cross

as regards the oppressive nature of any State. I hope to get out soon and start an anarchist group in my home town.

> Yours, Michael Davies, Eliot Ward, Park Lane Hospital, Maghull Lane, Maghull Liverpool L31 IHW

Readers are requested to keep writing to and sending Michael publications so that threats of censorship are broken down.

TRUE/FALSE TRUE/FALSE

TRUE/FALSE

TRUE/FALSE

TRUE/FALSE

TRUE /FALSE TRUE/FALSE TRUE/FALSE

# DEBTS PRODUCE TIME BOMB

#### INTRODUCTION

As Black Flag readers already know, the fall of military dictatorships in countries like Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil has allowed Anarchists in Latin-America to organise more openly and has caused a resurgence of Anarchism in this part of the world. At the same time it should be noted that the ecomic situation in Latin-America is quite different from most Western European countries. The followng article attempts to explain the situation better and was first published in CNT, the national paper of the CNT-AIT.

Latin America is undergoing a growing and accumulative state of crisis. Its annual population is growing three times more rapidly than that of North America and inflation is thirty times hugher than in the USA. If things continue as they are now, the old battle between the two Americas - between the North (rich) and the South (poor) will re-emerge with avengeance.

Violence, general strikes, and protests against the 30-40% unemployment rate has created a continual state of subversion and encouraged the proliferation of revolutionary movements, fighting the landowning oligarchy in the countryside or the government bureaucrats and bourgeoisie in the densely populated cities.

However, a Latin American revolution on a national scale is doomed to failure

profit gained by exports is nearly all handed over to foreign creditors, usually based in industrialised countries. Latin American and Afro-Asiatic countries that have large foreign debts and a dependency on the dollar or rouble are also forced into some strange exchanger practices based on the law of fraud. (Buy cheap but sell expensive). Cuba, which owes three thousand, five hundred million dollars to the West and twenty three thousand, million dollars to the East (mainly the Soviet Union) is no better off now than it was during the Batista regime when its

economy depended on the USA. One-product economies, created as a result of the unjust law of the division of international labour, emerge when a country decides to specialise in producing one highly profitable export that will attract foreign investment. For example, Central America and the Caribbean produce mainly sugar, bananas, coffee and cocoa. At the same time the United Fruit Company, a North American multinational, has managed to dominate the politics, finances and business in Central America and the Caribbean. In South America countries have also specialised in one or two products with the aim of attracting foreign investment. Chile, for example, has specialised in the production and export of Copper

thanks to one-product economies directly dependent on the investment of foreign capital and foreign loans that have landed Latin America with a total debt of three hundred and sixty thousand, million dollars more than half the value of its total production output.

Corruption amogst the bourgeoisie, the political and union bureaucrats, the Army and the multinational technocrats and liberal politics (Conservatism, reformism, Social-democracy & Christian democracy) is growing, and all have collapsed in the rush to escape the ever-growing crisis. The old economic, political and social system of dependency on the dollar's imperialism (in most Latin-American countries) or the rouble's imperialism (in Cuba, Nicaragua) and Grenada) has successfully been preserved.

An alternative to the huge social, economic and political crisis in Latin-America can only be obtained by the creation of a real economic-social order which is neither dependent on the dollar nor the rouble. Any national, regional or continental revolution that is created by East-West involvement will face the same political, diplomatic and economic difficulties that Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada face. Only a continental libertarian (ie. Anarchist) revolution based on self-management and federalism, avoiding both East and West, can influence US opinion. If there are people ready to support a revolution, the Pentagon will always lose the war in its rear-guard.

#### Debts and Discontent

Latin America has got itself into bigger and bigger debt. In 1977 total foreign debts rose to one hundred and five thousand, six hundred and fifty million dollars and rose again to three hundred and ten thousand, two hundred million dollars, reaching three hundred and sixty thousand, million in 1984. In addition to this enormous public and private debt, add interest charges on top and you create a snowball effect that as it grows is strangling every weak Latin American economy.

In 1982, of a total debt estimated at two hundred and eighty nine thousand, four hundred million dollars, the interest rate charged was sixty nine thousand, two hundred million dollars. Compare this with the total value of Latin American exports at eighty-eight thousand, six hundred million and you begin to realise that any







# LATIN AMERICA

and nitrate; Bolivia in tin; Argentina and Uruguay in meat, leather, cereals and wool; Peru in iron, copper, lead and other raw materials; Columbia, Brazil and to a lesser extent, Peru and Ecuador in coffee; Venezuela and Ecuador in crude oil. Russia also specialises when dealing with other COMINTERN countries. It sells oil, electricity and minerals at a high price in exchange for cheaply manufactured

products from Central Europe and raw materials from Cuba, Vietnam, Mongolia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and other countries who depend on the rouble.

### LATIN AMERICA IN CRISIS

Latin-America can't go on increasing its debts indefinitely, or go on borrowing money which doesn't go to developing the country's economy but is spent paying back the interest charged.

In Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Brasil, Columbia and Venezuela the party of discontent is growing bigger than all the demo-bourgeois, social-democratic, demo-christian, liberal or pseudo-revolutionary (dependent on the Kremlin or Fidel Castro) parties put together. Everything points to a very stormy future for Latin-America full of revolutions, civil-wars and 'coup d'etats'.

#### THE DEBTS LATIN AMERICA OWES (In thousands of million dollars).

#### An Unpayable Debt

Foreign debts in Latin America have grown too large. Peru's foreign debt in 1985, for example, was fourteen thousand million dollars while its total reserves of foreign currency was only worth one thousand, seven hundred and twelve million dollars (at the end of 1984). The total value of all of Perus' products put together is estimated at around sixteen thousand, million dollars that is two thousand million dollars more than its foreign debt. Total exports in 1985 didn't exceed three thousand, one hundred million while three thousand, seven hundred million had to be paid out to cover interest charges of said foreign debt.

All in all, it's a very pessimistic picture throughout Latin America. Foreign debts are growing like apot boiling over. In 1984 Brasil owed the USA and credit banks one hundred and three thousand, million dollars yet it made twelve thousand, eight hundred million dollars in profits that year from its foreign trade. This amount didn't even cover the interest charge on its foreign debt the year before. Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela are no better off. If things carry on it looks as if Latin-America is in for a violent period of crisis revolutions, strikes and protests in the near future.

Although this article has mainly concerned itself with Latin America's problems, as well as indicating the social and political repercussions, it should also be noted that long, fierce strikes (like the miner's strike in Britain) don't always succeed if private capitalism and the State are stronger than unarmed workers, especially if those workers haven't received any wages for a long period of time. In Latin America violent demonstrations and factory occupations are often more effective than an urban guerilla vanguard when fighting the bosses, the army and police.

These tactics are also more likely to push countries into a continual situation of subversion like in Poland or Chile, providing those popular forces involved avoid being manipulated by self-proclaimed 'Leaders' who stray at home rather than risk their lives on the streets, and leave workers or students to die so that they can end up as Ministers, Senators or politicians when the regime falls.

We don't wish to go into the ins and outs of revolutionary wars here. A revolutionary minority can also push countries into a situation of subversion providing they always act in the interests of the oppressed majority of people, like in South Africa, Chile, or Poland. Without some co-operation between guerillas and the working population, all revolutionary wars would be costly in terms of human lives lost and the prisons would be overflowing with people.

In conclusion, Latin-America, neocolonised by economic imperialism, in debt becuase of its corrupt governments, incapable of developing economically, culturally or technically because of its military dictatorships, oligarchies and its technocrats. must take advantage of the historical, political, economic and social opportunities the twentieth century has offered to build a confederation of Autonomous Republics based on direct democracy, on federalist, self-managed economies and libertarian socialism.

If Latin America doesn't take this opportunity, it will enter into a period of totalitarianism (red or black) where people don't have equal rights or opportunities and are forced to live under a class, caste or race system.

Abraham Guillen. Abraham Guillen was a member of the anarchist militias in the Spanish revolution. He fled Spain after Franco's victory and travelled in Latin America. His Book Strategy of the Urban Guerilla was published in English in the USA in 1979.



#### USA **DOCKERS DIRECT ACTION**

Along the Columbia river members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) uncovered an attempt to load timber and other materials onto a Hawaii-bound barge with scab labour.

Instead of the more typical, symbolic protests such as informational picketing, a mass picket of about 400 ILWU members and clerks from six local unions in Columbia valley massed at the gates of the Columbia Industrial Park dock, near Vancouver Washington on Friday, June 7th and proceeded to 'trespass' en masse.

'We were tired of having to fight with one arm tied behind our backs' said one local union secretary. Despite heavy rain, the picketers withdrew to the main gate and maintained a large picket presence after the cops arrived. No movement of

## Attacked By Fire Fighters

Fire fighters fighting for higher wages for their 60 hour week ended up attacking the Amsterdam Town Hall with their firefighting equipment when they learned the pay negotiations talks had broken down.

Earlier the Fire Fighters had threatened not to put out fires or answer distress calls affecting Municipal property. The following day around 600 of the City's Fire Fighters converged on the Town Hall to picket the building. They arrived in their fire engines and fire boats blocking all the main roads and canals. When news that the Municipal officials had refused to consider the dem. ands further was announced, the Fire Fighters took direct action. Jets of water

the shipment was attempted by the boss at that time.

On Monday morning, June 10th, the boss got a real surprise! A force of about 10,000 members of the ILWU and Inland Boatmen's Union assembled again at the Colmbia River Park. With some of their number equipped with bolt-cutters, the pickets moved in and cut the metal straps that held together 450 timber stacks. A lone cop was simply ignored. 'Within minutes' according to one report, 'the yard looked like it had been hit by a tornado, with 2 by 4s, 2 by 8s and 2 by 12s scattered all over'. As police reinforcements arrived a few minutes later, the pickets were marching out of the yard, six abreast.

Faced with this display of worker solidarity in action, the barge company gave in and agreed to use a unionised workforce in the future.

SOURCE: Ideas & Action

were aimed at the main Town Hall building breaking windows and flooding rooms inside. Next came the foam jets. Other protesters began to start small fires inside the building. £1000's of pounds worth of damage was caused.

More direct action was taken in other parts of the country. A Town Hall meeting in Tilburg was broken up by protesting Fire Fighters. Union headquarters in Maastricht was occupied by Fire Fighters who were angry that union officials were trying to sow up a deal with the bosses. Fire Fighters at airports withdrew emergency cover.



# INTERNATIONAL

#### SWEDEN TOTAL – MONTHLY NEWS BULLETIN

In January we are going to start a monthly News Bulletin. We need and want all kinds of information on what is going on or what is going to happen within the Anarchist movement outside Sweden. We're also interested in news from the peace, ecological and squatter's movements. So, if you publish a magazine, a bulletin or what ever PLEASE PUT US ON YOUR MAILING LIST, and we'll send you the bulletin in exchange. (For obvious reasons we cannot afford to subscribe to all the anarchist/ alternative publications).

For the past few years we've been producing TOTAL magazine, an irregular Anarchist paper, but now we've realised the great need for a regular news bulletin for the Swedish Anarchist movement. So after the last issue of TOTAL magazine (to be published in December) we're going to work hard on spreading Anarchist counter information.

Hoping to hear from you soon, TOTAL collective, c/o Nya Bokcafeet Box 15015 104 65 Stockholm SWEDEN

#### CANADA

#### **NEW CENTRE HARO!**

Centre Haro! is an Anarchist research and documentation center located in Montreal. We would like to develop contacts with the international Anarchist movement, exchange documents and receive news about research projects. To contact us, please write to:

Centre Haro!, B.P. 833, ' Succ. La Cite, Montreal, Quebec, CANADA H2W 2P5

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON ANARCHISM

Q: Shouldn't anarchism be opposed to industrialisation, which is what anarcho-syndicalism is about?

A: Of course Anarchism is opposed to industrialisation (which is to say commercialism), but that's not what anarcho-syndicalism is about: it is about opposing industrialisation effectively as distinct from ignoring it and hoping it'll go away if we do not get violent (which isn't sarcastic but a summary of Liberal ideas posing as 'Green Anarchism').

The only way of changing the economic system is by people organising and getting hold of the actual places of work, and then reorganising the works to suit the producer and also the consumer. It is surely now obvious that if the people running the factories are actually working in them they won't want slavish systems of mass production. Pollution and destruction of the environment cannot be dealt with by artists and actors writing eloquent letters of protest to Governments; when it is so profitable to do so nor can clerics or demonstrators get them to 'ban' the nuclear bomb when it is such an obvious instrument of power. But if we do eliminate the power and profit motives, who wants a nuclear power station (or a prison) round the corner from them?

To identify the way to fight something with what it is fighting against is an old trick of political neoliberalism ('the problem is that in fighting fascism you become fascist' type of argument.).

Will people in control of modern mass industry allow it to continue... or will they break it into small, manageable units - one person units even, but certainly not large enough to give a power base? That is what anarcho-syndiclaism is about direct action, as opposed to alibis for inaction.

#### HOLLAND POLICE 'NOT GUILTY' OF MURDERING SQUATTER!

There have been questions asked in Holland's parliament following the murder of Squatter Hans Kok in police custody in October. The Dutch Minister of Justice was forced to defend the behaviour of his cops and also issued a small report on the death of Hans. The report claims that Hans probably died because 'he used drugs' (it's not specified how or why). It concludes that the police were not guilty of murder but 'made a few mistakes'! How can a twenty three year old boy just die in a place like a police cell? Thirty five people have died in dutch police cells in the last ten years. And, why did the only conclusion in the report find the cops not guilty?

No direct answers of course, just new investigations promised to make people shut up - even the daily news papers in Holland are now convinced there is some kind of cover up. Statements from those arrested at the same time as Hans and held in the same cell block are expected to be published soon. They say that they heard Hans singing at midnight while the police have declared that Hans died at about 9 o'clock. Guards were also heard talking about a boy vomiting and they heard guards beating up detainees. It's becoming increasingly clear that the police behaved very brutally the night Hans was murdered (like they always do against 'scum'). Well, we'll have new investigations,

we'll have a new report but will we have a new conclusion?

SOURCE: Grachten Krant

#### ITALY extra large EXTRA LARGE

We are a group who live in Florence and who self-manage Extralarge, fanzine about information and news; our own movement tends to self-management and self-production We intend to gather written matter about self-management in Europe. Please send us information, we want to publish an edition of those facts to distribute it in Italy in order to spread this way of moving in our own territory. In case of excessive postal charges we will pay for any costs.

If you haven't written material to send us, just tell us about the activities of your group.

G.D.R. c/o Valerio Adamo via Mercadante 135 50144 FIRENZE ITALIA

#### ANARCHO-QUIZ ANSWERS

- 1. Frances Adams was chopped up and stuffed by her former lover. To intensify the horror the Press referred to her constantly as 'Sweet Fanny Adams', and by a sick joke British troops (1914) referred to bully beef as Sweet Fanny Adams. But also the French 'Ca ne fait rien' (nothing doing) sounded to them San Fiary Ann, hence the saying 'There's SFA (bully beef) or SFA (nothing)'. As the war coarsened people's minds SFA became Sweet Fuck All and the association of FUCK with FANNY altered the meaning of the word. (Curiously, Americans took it to mean the opposite).
- 2. Lady Houston, who published the Saturday Review and described herself as in Imperial Fascist, and then a Royalist; she broke with Mosley after he denied that the thousands of pounds she sent him from Italy came from Mussolini adding the fatal words 'they came from an ELDERLY lady patriot'.
- 3. Felix Morrow was a bookseller specialising in esoteric and occult books.
- 4. Both Pannekoek and Omar Khayyam were astronomer-poets.
- 5. During the early part of WW1, when anti-war feeling swept the Isolationist Middle West, Irving Berlin wrote an anti-War song of which he was acutely ashamed when America entered the War and he struck gold with stirring wartime anthems. The only person to remind him of it in later years out of devilment, was Groucho Marx, who insisted on singing it everytime someone gave a party for Irving Berlin, until the latter offered him a hundred dollars NOT to sing it, 'Stay Down In Hell Where You Belong' anytime he felt like doing so.
- 6. As a young Welsh schoolboy, Ivor Novello (davies) wrote 'Keep The Home Fires Burning' a patriotic song, in response to a newspaper competition in World War I. He became famous almost overnight but for the rest of his life was haunted by disbaled, often limbless ex-Servicemen, rolling out the song on barrelorgans in London's theatre-land - victims of the war he had narrowly escaped and out of which he had unwittingly done so well.

## Introduction to Modern Politics – Leftism

In the feudal society there was always a solid clerical bureaucracy in the Church which offered the way to power, influence and riches, even for those born into humble circumstances. The wealthy could afford to educate, buy or present their children with entry into the Church, but as it was always possible for the able to make their way, there was generally no class of dissid ents or disappointed clergy trying to push their way in until the unity of the Church was broken.

In feudal China, however, an educated class of scholars took their place of the clerics, and these mandarins rose to power as a bureaucracy based upon their success in examinations. As the Confucian system became corrupted, failed mandarins became a potent force to be reckoned with. They represented another class, who inevitably offered their 'services' to anyone challenging the established order.

When, in the modern world, the working class movement arose, it was divided into two almost from the start. There were those who challenged the basic assumptions of Statist society, and were regarded as visionaries and impractical or impatient people. Those who were more 'moderate' - which is to say, those who tried to fit in with things as they were - copied the forms of organisation and way to power. They formed parties in the image of the bourgeois parties, sought to enter Governments and to form their own exactly as the middle class had done. Almost inevitably, they turned to a class of 'failed mandarins' who had become by then as numerous as they

were in China.

In Europe they were not necessarily scholars who had failed their examinations (though these abounded too) but as a whole class of people who considered themselves suitable for power and leadership. Sometimes wrongly called 'middle-class intellectuals' they were not capitalists nor necessarily intellectual: lawyers, jornalists, professional people from various walks and including career politicians, vied for leadership of what was an increasingly important working class. The Left became a highway to their professional success. The ing class aspirations. rich needed only so many lawyers, so many journalists, offered only so much for political advancement. The organised workers could afford such luxuries too. An important way to become a successful company lawyer was to begin by being a successful union lawyer. The career of Pierre Laval in France is a vivid illustration of this in its move from the extreme Left to extreme Right; but it can be seen graphically in British politics too. Sir Hartley Shawcross for instance. Originally they led. Now they dominate. They permeate the whole 'Left'. The Left which began by meaning the working class in general, and the organised workers in particular. in our day 'the Left' has changed from having any association whatever with the working class and even from State socialism to meaning a packagedeal of reforms and attitudes generally expected of a 'progressive' person with no class connotation. The term 'the extreme Left' is used to mean those who still advocate State socialism, and even those

### FASCISM

We now conclude our introduction to US Fascism Today. Part 1 appeared in the last issue of BLACK FLAG.

Two years later the Aryan Nations HQ was burnt down following an explosion. Butler blame'd it on the Jewish Defence League. The HQ was soon rebuilt and its security stepped up, to the extent that in 1983 and 1984 Butler was able to hold the first and second International Congresses of the Aryan Nations. Around 500 'delegates' turned up, representing about 50 'groups'.

By 1984 The Order, a grouping within the Aryan Nations set-up, was organising, with Mathews at its head, a series of robberies. In April of that year Mathews led 4 others to rob an armoured truck in Seattle making off with more than \$500,000. A few days later in Boise a bomb exploded at the Congregation Church, Israel Synagogue, just after some youngsters had left a teaching lesson. David Lane of the AN

became the FBI's chief suspect, while Bruce Pierce and Richard Kemp (both Aryan Nations members) were charged with the bombing. Then two months later, on June 18th in Denver, Alan Berg (see above) was killed by a burst from a sub-machine gun. He was riddled by 17 bullets. For his murder David Lane and Bruce Pierce have both been indicted. 22 others also involved in the planning of the murder, have also been indicted for the murder as well as racketeering charges. These indictments for Berg's murder (and the racketeering) were announced on April 15th, 1985; on that same day David Tate, a member of the Silent Brotherhood, stopped a traffic cop and shot him dead. Tate was later captured in the compound of another farright Christian organisation, called the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, based in Arkansas.

In the meantime Louis Beam Inr is chief suspect in the campaign to murder Dees, a liberal civil rights attorney and founder of the Southern Poverty Law Centre, which also runs an anti-Klan monitoring scheme called Klanswatch. The SPLC, situated in Montgomery, functions as a legal advice centre for the poor, especially Blacks, and has campaigned against the death penalty and for the improvement of prison conditions. In 1981 the SPLC was arsoned. Three KKK members were indicted; they pleaded guilty and were sentenced to 15 years each. In 1984 Dees took out an injunction against the Carolina KKK in Raleigh. The Courthouse where the hearing was held was temporarily invaded by KKK members who held Dees under seige; he barely escaped with his life. Since then Dees' home has been staked out on several occasions. Hit men have been seen but not apprehended. At a recent Carolina KKK meeting Mike Norris, a National Alliance member, was delegated to kill Dees. Dees also suspects that Beam has a contract out on him too. Beam now, together with Robert Miles (Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, ex-OAS and found guilty of bombing a school bus during segregation days), edits a paper called the Inter-Klan Newsletter and Survival Alert.

#### Within The Reagan Circle

Lev Dobriansky is a close friend of President Reagan. He is also a founder of the World Anti-Communist League and has close connections with the neo-Nazi Ukrainian dissident movement?

Dr Lev Dobriansky is curently US Ambassador to the Bahamas, a lucrative position involving enormous rake-offs which Dobriansky uses to help fund his political activities. Dobriansky is also the Chairman (sic) of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Captive Nations Committee Inc. both far right organisations, with extremely ignoble roots. One of Dobriansky's closest associates is none other than Yaroslav Stetsko, Chairman (sic) of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and (during 1941) the shortlived Premier of the 'Independent Republic of the Ukraine', a Hitler client regime.

Both Dobriansky and Stetsko are currently working together on a campaign to discredit and destroy the Office of Special Investigation, specially set up by the previous Carter administration to seek out safe-housed and immune ex-Nazis and war criminals and to secure their deportation. As many of these Nazis helped the CIA and in turn were helped to find a safe haven in the US by the CIA, it is not surprising that the CIA is working along-

# COMMENT

have no real working class connotation.

#### The Failed Mandarins

What nowadays is regarded as Left Wing politics are the politics of the 'failed mandarins'; those whose particular abilities may well fit them for the business of government, but who stand no chance of entering it other than by putting forward certain reformistic or quasi-revolutionary policies. Marxist-Leninism has become almost solely the politics of the armed scholar, and has no connection with work-

In addition to the Marxist-Leninist 'left' there is another quasi-libertarian Left which is obsessed with factional interests and in gaining local power to advance such interests by grants and subsidies. This includes 'mandarins' as well as the failed type.

These factional interests may often be good in themselves; and they cannot be classified along with the quasi-fascist Right Wing policies which are bad in themselves. But what they have in common is the elevation of the representative into the power structure; and the fact that so many would-be representatives are now jostling and pushing to get into the queue for power means that divisions and subdivisions have to be created where they do not exist.

Since the working class has ceased to regard Leftism as having any connection with it - and only 'extreme Leftism' acknowledges the working class at all - the Left has to flirt with patriotism, nationalism and populism to gain any credible following.

No longer could or do Marxists 'inscribe on their banners the abolition of the wage system', what they inscribe on their banners is 'Stand by Nicaragua', 'Troops out of Ireland' or 'Gays against the Bomb', none of which could involve anything more than the political campaign itself. It is significant that the most significant Leftist campaign of all has been to 'ban the bomb', which cannot be banned (by whom? and how?) but to demonstrate for which shows strong

passionate (and genuine) involvement without altering the state of things on the Monday after in the slightest.

To regard these campaigns as futile does not mean — as the outraged Leftist will say immediately – that one must support the opposite (Ditch Nicaragua, keep the troops in Ireland, or heteros for the bomb). These opposites are the stuff of populism putting up a last-ditch defence against Leftism. What is futile is to suppose that these campaigns or their opposite lead to anything more than involvement in campaigns which lead nowhere except further openings for those riding on their backs. Frustration takes people away from following their own economic emancipation because they seem not to be getting anywhere; and in the process they become even more frustrated. That, however, and unfortunately, is all that modern, accepted politics is all about.

A.M.



side Dobriansky and Stetsko to get rid of the Office of Special Investigation. Dobriansky and Stetsko and many of their dissident colleagues have a history that go back to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, a fascist nationalist organisation that was set up in the Ukraine during the War and which was led by Stephen Bandera, whose lieutenant was Stetsko. Bandera's own patron was the infamous Alfred Rosenberg, the racial theorist and Nazi mentor who had some sympathy for the aspirations of the anticommunist Baltic movements. The OUN was also stoutly anti-semitic and functioned as an intelligence network for the Nazis in Eastern Europe, on the agreement that the OUN would control a future 'free' Ukraine, once it had been 'liberated' by Hitler's troops.

For the OUN, however, all went badly wrong. With the capture of the Ukraine by the Germans, Stetsko indeed was made Premier of the State, but only for a few days. Hitler despised the slavic Ukrainians whether communist or fascist, and it was not long before Stetsko was placed under SS house arrest. After the War Stetsko organised the assassination of anti-Nazi refugees; the death squads involved OUN agents acting of Operation Ohio (a CIA/

OSS programme).

Another associate of Dobriansky is Dr Austin App, one of the first historical revisionists who published material denying the holocaust ever took place. App is also a regular contributor to leading Nazi Roger Pearson's Western Destiny magazine.

Which then brings us full circle, so to speak. Pearson is well supported by Reagan whose famous letter congratulating Pearson on his 'work' and on his contribution to the advancement of 'free enterprise' economics, foreign policy and defence, has been well documented in the anti-fascist press. In that letter Reagan commented 'Your substantial contributions to promoting and upholding those ideals and principles that we value at home and abroad are greatly appreciated.' Pearson's contacts in central government do not end with Reagan. One of his most loyal contacts, for example, is Robert Scheuttingen, an ex-Defence Department official, who is currently on the editorial board of Pearson's Journal of Social and Economic Science. a sort of US equivalent to the UK Economic Affairs journal (published by the free-market economistic, far-right, Institute for Economic Affairs).

Continued on Page 7



## -Psychological Operations-

CASE STUDY 7 – PEACE MOVEMENT Sponsoring 'peace movements' (at the right point in time) in order to provide a moral backlash to the 'forces of violence' is another technique favoured by British antiterrorist 'expert' Frank Kitson. The North of Ireland Peace Movement, 'begun' by Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, is one such example of a non-violent backlash that fell in with the plans and strategy of the security forces.

Prior to the Movement taking off Betty Williams was an active member of the Alliance Party (toe the Law & Order line); Corrigan was a prominent member of the Legion of Mary (anti-abortion, Catholic fundamentalist): both, therefore, had ideal qualifications for leading such a Movement. Ciaran McKeon was another 'founder'. He was a journalist on the Irish Press and became the Movement's theorist and credible leftist (for a while he flirted with Peoples Democracy and Official Sinn Fein).

There were two 'trigger' incidents to the official launch of the Peace Movement 1. Danny Lannor of the Provisional IRA (PIRA) was shot at by a British army patrol while he was out driving – his car swerved and two children standing nearby were tragically killed (a third later died) when Lannor's car crashed into them. NB. It was only much later that it was discovered that the children had also been shot by British Army bullets, presumably meant for Lannor). 2. Four days afterwards a British army patrol in South Armagh shot and killed a 12 year old girl, Magella O'Hara – the usual 'caught in the crossfire' explanation was dished out to the media, but it was later proven that the patrol, for some

strange reason, had used an Armalite rifle (traditional Republican weapon) to do the shooting. Both incidents occurred at a point in time when there was an apparent increase in sectarian violence.

The Peace Movement was allegedly non-sectarian and refused to condemn one side or another, including the Security Services. It soon became a strong advocate of Law & Order and a supporter of those forces that intervened in the daily conflict on the streets. According to Airey Neave (then Tory shadow Northern Ireland Secretary and ex-head of MI9), the 'peace movement in Northern Ireland has splendidly provided an opportunity to mount a more effective counter-propaganda campaign against expert left-wing propaganda'.

Jane Ewart-Biggs (widow of the assassinated SIS spook and British Ambassador to Eire, Christopher Ewart-Biggs) headed the British section of the Peace Movement. Other 'personalities' included anti-abortion campaigner and fiberal reformer, Lord Longford, Joan Baez, Church Leaders, Clann na h-Eireann (British section of the Officials) leadership, etc. A motley crew by any standards.

COMMENT

By the mid-'70's the Peace Movement had gained such a momentum that it was possible for it to take over many of the community organisations in the North under its wing. (Co-option of neighbourhood centres, community groups etc. was a policy recommended by a NI Research Institute document in a report to the Security Forces). 'Rehabilitation centres' were set up by the Peace Movement and many of the movements' activists became involved in some of the social and leisure clubs (many were already involved in the first place). It was a phase of 'normalisation' but on terms to the State's advantage. It wasn't long before the Peace Movement Leaders were making much-publicised press announcements urging all sympathisers to inform on the 'men of violence' for the good of all. Movement activists even helped set up escape networks for those paramilitaries who wished to defect and start a new life.

The Peace Movement's US link men were ex-CIA Chile operative, Charles Stout, and CIA Covert Operations officer, Allard Lowenstein. Stout was in Chile after the 1973 coup, where he learned about the pot-banging women's movement that was initiated with the help of Libertad y Patria, partly financed by the CIA. Lowenstein was an old hand; he had been a desk officer in Yugoslavia, Mexico and Italy (during the height of the socalled 'strategy of tension' era when the fascists set off bombs in public). Stout and Lowenstein acted as Corrigan and Williams' (by then McKeon was dropped from the scene) ambassadors in the USA and helped to obtain funding for the Movement. They also did the occasional bit of advising.

The fate of the Movement is now history: Corrigan and Williams got Nobel Peace Prizes, they kept much of the money for their own personal use; eventually the credibility of the Movement went as more and more people began to see that it was only interested in supporting State security and assisting the security forces in their quest for stabilisation.

Who was Right? Well,

In Statism and Anarchy Michael Bakunin stated that 'former workers. . . as soon as they have become rulers and representatives, cease to be workers . . . and look down on the whole common workers' world from the height of the State. They will no longer represent the common people but only their own claims to rule

This was rejected by Karl Marx. Workers, he said, would then cease to be workers 'as little as a factory owner today ceases to be a capitalist if he becomes a municipal councillor. . . If our Bakunin were au courant, if only with the position of manager in a workers' co-operative society factory, all his nightmares about domination would go to the devil. He should have asked himself what form the administrative function can assume in a workers' state, if he wants to call it thus. . .'

This debate was 100 years ago. Since then we have seen workers rise to power. Bakunin's paragraph might have been written with a clear view of Labour MPs from the beginning to the present day, right, left and centre. In Russia, a 'workers' state' was created in which all Bakunin's nightmares were embodied, in particular the fear that if Marxist 'Prussianism' were to dominate the Russian 'knoutocracy' (rule by the whip) the state thus created would be far worse than either Tsarism or Prussian militarism. (People thought this statement was utter madness).

If we look at Marx's statement, we now have experience of factory workers who become municipal councillors, who not only have acted like capitalists but can be a more ruthless landlord or employer (even though in this case remaining a worker) and (however it was in Marx's time) this goes for 'managers of co-operative societies' too. If asked what form of 'administrative function' can form in a 'workers' state' such as Russia. where Marx is idolised, we find it a sheer dictatorship over the workers.



Michael 'All States Dictate!' Bakunin.

At the Anarchist Bookfair held on November 10th at Conway Hall in London, a leaf let Anarchism Exposed! was in circulation. Produced by a group calling itself Red Men with its contact address at 84b Whitchapel High Street. Ironic is it not that they slag off what they parasitically use (sawing through the branch they are sitting on?) ie. the Freedom Bookshop and the Anarchist Bookfair. Do they see themselves as the 'house critical critics'/court jesters? Oh no, they are too serious, they are 'Council Communists'. What are they then, militant local Council workers who are hard left? Er. . . not exactly comrade, in fact they are beyond work! Above all else they are anti-syndicalist, inevitably anti-organisation except for their own 'anti-Bolshevik' communist groups that have to exist to 'bring consciousness' to the 'idealistic Anarchists' and the 'underdeveloped workers' no doubt. The scenario is they will isation when the workers councils and the

'wither away' (sound familiar?) their organassemblys are what they want them to be, that is a mass version of their small 'party.' Council communists were in the original German situation WWI period, the most militant expression of working class activity brought up through Marxist ideas but coming to libertarian conclusions. They of course co-operated with the FAU anarchosyndicalists of that same period and though the two tendencies came by different roads they worked together, faced the Frei Corps and lastly the Nazi repression; with their organisations illegal, their militants in the concentration camps they expired.

Alas Red Menace turns the differences between anarcho-syndicalism and their ideology of Councilism/assemblyism into reasons to oppose any Anarchist organisation. In the recent past the North West Anarchist Federation broke down after the 'intervention' of Councilist/Autonomist etc. communists who balked at being in an organisation called Anarchist, rather than leave they bore/wreck meetings. The similarly anti-organisation Sheffield Anarchists refused to allow Aims and Principles for the North-East Anarchist Federation as 'bureaucratic' (anyone who wants to call themselves an 'Anarchist' is one okay, the pacifist/religious/Party etc member the odd Pop star etc. . . a lie! ); again prolonging tension until meetings dwindled away to nowt.

Anarchist and anarcho-syndicalists can work with those interested in promoting independent working class action, organisation (rank & file groups etc.) and cooperation (Miners' Support Groups, strike committes since etc.) even if this 'unity' is based on specific issues or campaigns. Red Menace et al's modern usage of the term council communist means those

who reject anarcho-syndicalism because it believes in permanent organisation of workers. This means workers are prepared and through a strategy of direct action win more and more confidence in themselves through their own solidarity. Red Menace want the workers to organise 'spontaneous-

Western Destiny was begun and its editorial board included AK Chesterton (the British fascist theorist)., Austen App Euro-fascist and terrorist groups.

## Anarchism Caricatured

ly', at the very moment of 'revolution', so called, which is a con-trick to therefore leave the 'revolutionary movement', socalled, in the hands of the educated class, as does the so-called Revolutionary Party. This 'spontaneity' means the workers are only meant to come into the fray when there is any fighting to be done; baton or cannon fodder from the factory fodder into the front line under the direction of the officer fodder. In normal times of course theorising must be left to the specialists. Supposedly 'against specialisation' the Situationists for example developed a specialised language from Art and Literary criticism, with Guy Debord as their guru they set up their 'Internationale' and proceeded to expel all those who didn't correctly comprehend the correct theses, anti-thesis, synthesis etc. inevitably they dissolved themselves when only two were left to split differences.

Class War get an honourable mention from R.M. for being anti-syndicalists, but

the 'Bash the Rich' etc, actions put off R.M. as they have more serious theorising to do than disrupt the rich somewhere. while there's probably some Anarchist meeting to 'intervene' in instead.

Another variation on this theme of Anarchism/Anarcho-syndicalism caricatured is BM BLOB whose various publications we have reviewed before (see BF Quarterly No 6 reply to Bankruptcy of Syndicalism and Anarchism), A look at the dockers of Europe and their attempts to organise independently is International Dockers Struggles. Here the CNT gets a bashing (again!) and the author tries to use the Spanish Organisation of Barcelona Port Dockers (OEPB) to prove the need for anti-Bolshevik communists to slag off anarcho-syndicalists. The OEPB decided to remain independent and assembly based contrary to the Communist CCOO and the Socialist UGT yet the OEPB decided to state: 'the radically different stance taken by the companeros of the CNT'.

Right from the start they did not seek to pit themselves against the will of the assembly. Rather, the CNT supported the assembly organisation, including its militants within it, (and) put themselves at its service and participated actively in its struggles, aware that only through this form could the unity of the dockworkers be safeguarded'.

There are about one hundred CNT members in the Barcelona dock organisation The CNT has always been involved with waterfront organisation, collectivising the docks in July 1936 and putting up armed resistance to Franco's troops in their last advance into Barcelona in January of 1939. Ironic is it not that these Marxists (who are usually known for their harping on about 'history') can ignore the fact that anarcho-syndicalism's past and current resurgence is the working class fighting for its own emancipation, through its own organisation.

@ Peasant.

## Fascism USA Style

Continued from page 6

Pearson himself started his editorial

career in 1956 with the publication of Northern World, an Aryan, racialist magazine. It was not long afterwards that Pearson set up the Northern League, a fascist set up that attempted to link the fascist theorists and racialists alongside his Aryan set-up. One such theorist that Pearson recruited was Hans Gunther, a German racialist who had received an award from Alfred Rosenberg for his contributions to the theories of Aryan superiority. In 1968 Pearson moved to the USA and joined forces with the US fascist Willis Carto.

(the revisionist historian) and a former SS/Waffen officer, Arthur Erhardt along with KKK Leader Ernst Servier Cox. Later Pearson took over the editorship of The Mankind Quarterly which specialised in 'scientific racialism'. One of his more recent patrons has been Senator Jesse Helms, who headed a trust fund that awarded Pearson \$36,000 for research purposes. Now living in Washington, Pearson is editor of Policy Review, the publication of the Reaganite think-tank, the Heritage Foundation. In 1978 Pearson became President of the World Anti-Communist League (now headed by General John K Singlaub) and in 1979 Pearson founded EUROWACL which brought together 'New Order' and other